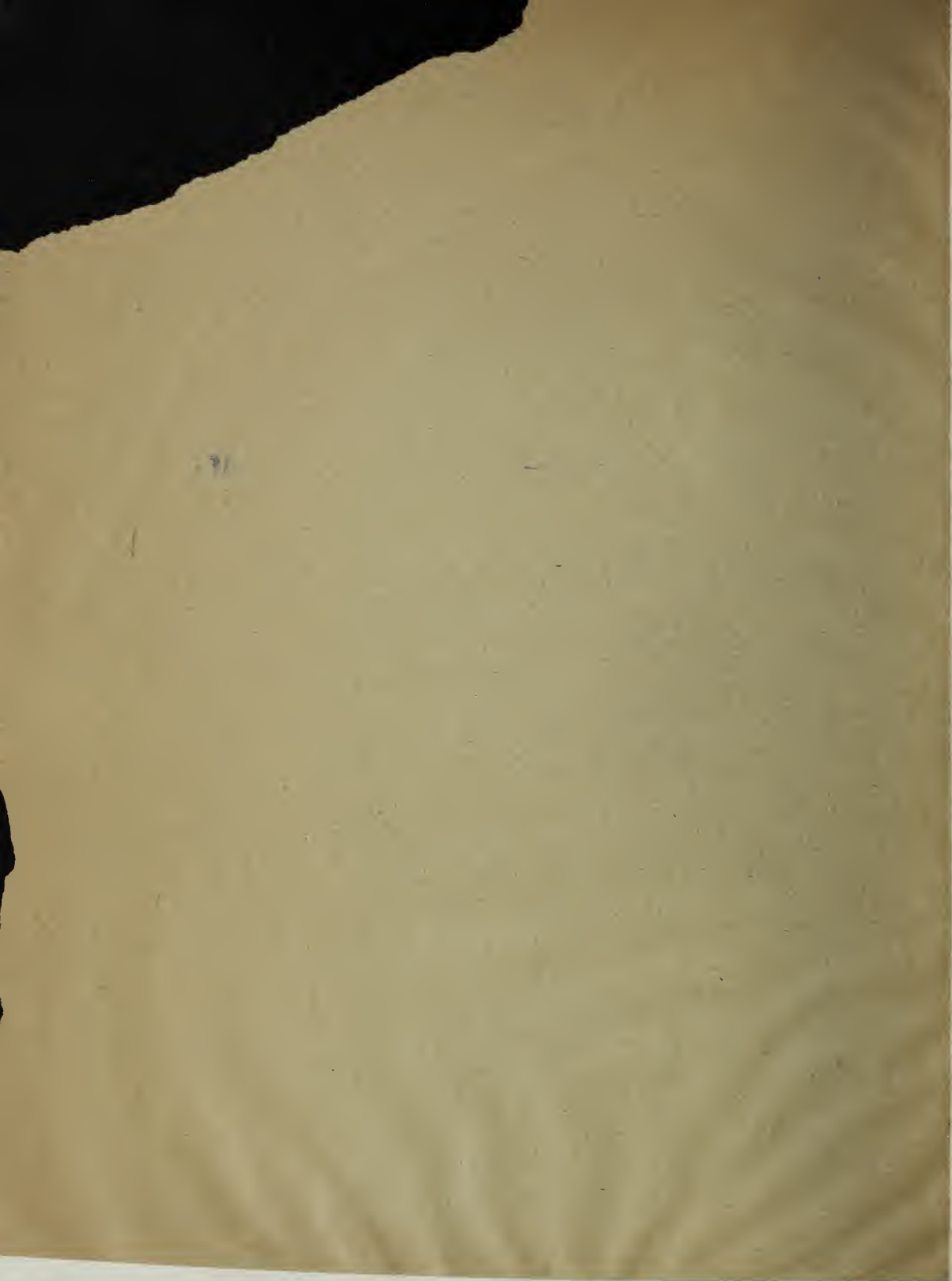


SKETCHES IN THE RELIGIOUS
ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR

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SKETCHES IN THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR.¹

(PLATES I-IV.)

EDMUND J. JAMES

I.—THE TWO SANCTUARIES OF MEN.

IT is well known that in pre-Greek time a large part of Asia Minor was portioned out in theocracies, *i.e.* priest-kings representing the god, at great sanctuaries ruled over a considerable district whose population were servants and subjects of the central *hieron*. Such were Pessinus, Comana Pontica, Comana of Cappadocia, Venasa, Tyana, Antioch of Pisidia, the *hieron* of Sabazios in the Milyadic country,² etc. It would appear to be a necessary characteristic of such a theocracy that there should be only one centre, one *hieron*, one sanctuary. In the case of Antioch, however, this seems not to have been the case. Strabo, p. 577, indeed describes the *hieron* at Antioch as if it were a single centre ruling a wide tract of country peopled by a large population; but in p. 557 he says that there were two sanctuaries in the Antiochian country, 'the *hieron* of the Askaian (Men), which is beside Antioch-towards-Pisidia,

¹ In this paper I have profited by frequent conversation with Mr. Anderson during the winter. He is treating the cult of the goddess Demeter at Antioch in the *J.R.S.* from his own point of view: his article and mine supplement without contravening each other. I have occasion often to refer to articles of my own on aspects of this subject: (1) *The religion of Asia Minor and Greece* in Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, V. p. 112 ff.; (2) *The permanent attachment of religious veneration to ancient sites in Asia Minor* and (3) *Pagan Revivalism and the later persecutions in Pauline and Other Studies*: (4) *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces* (sometimes quoted as Q); (5) *The Tekmoreian Guest-friends* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912 (sometimes quoted simply as *Journal*). Our first impressions regarding the unexcavated *hieron* are described by Mrs. Hasluck in *J.H.S.* 1912, and by myself in the *Contemporary Review*, 1912.

² On this *hieron*, whose exact site is unknown, but about which we have learned more than we know about any other of the great *hiera*, see my *Cities and Bish.*, i. ch. ix.

and the *hieron* (of Men) in the region of the Antiochians.' The meaning of 'the region of the Antiochians' as a geographical term I hope shortly to discuss in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, and will only say here that it applies to the entire Phrygian region of the Galatic province, of which Antioch was the metropolis. But why has Antioch apparently two *hiera*? Why has this ancient theocracy two seats of the god?

The answer was given in the excavations conducted by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in 1912 on the top of a lofty peak overhanging the site of the Colony. Here is the *hieron* of Men Askaios beside Antioch, marked by hundreds of dedications; but the adjective has the form Askaênos except two cases of Askaios.¹ We began to excavate, hoping to find the vestiges of a pre-Greek *hieron*; but at first we were disappointed to be unable to find any early remains. Everything was of the Roman period except some scraps of Hellenistic pottery, one inscription, and perhaps the peribolos wall of the main central sanctuary. At last the explanation became clear. The *hieron* beside Antioch was founded along with the city in the third century B.C. The ancient sanctuary was too far away, and the Seleucid city required a sanctuary near at hand. Thereafter there were the two *hiera*, the ancient *hieron* in the region of the Antiochians and the Greek close to the city.

It may be supposed that the new *hieron* would reflect in some degree the character of the city population. It was the sanctuary of the civilized and Hellenized urban people, while the other was rustic and frequented mainly by the old village-dwellers, who spoke the Phrygian tongue and did not share in Greek manners until a comparatively late date, and had no autonomy or self-governing institutions, but were only a small degree removed from the condition of serfs *adscripti glebae*. As in Palestine at the death of Solomon the theocratic kingdom was split into two, the modern and 'progressive' north and the conservative Judah in the south, so the Antiochian theocracy was divided between two sanctuaries presenting a general contrast to each other like that in Palestine. The city sanctuary was by far the most brilliant: it had buildings, and feasts and outward show, whereas the old *hieron* was so humble in appearance that as yet we have been unable to determine its site with certainty.² But in ritual the probability is that there was no essential

¹ In both cases *Ἄσκαλα* denotes the land of the god.

² It may possibly have been at Saghir: see later in this paper.

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difference, nothing but varying degree of magnificence. So far as natural probability goes, we should expect that the new sanctuary beside Antioch was modelled on the old, and even that the general features of the situation were similar, for the new *hieron* was not placed in or quite close to the city, but at some distance, high on the summit of a steep and rough mountain, 1300 ft. above Antioch. The situation was probably chosen because it presented a general similarity to the old *hieron*.

In ritual, also, the intention would doubtless be to reproduce the established features. The gods of the land had taught man how to approach them by acts and words; and these constituted the only way of approach. The gods must either be abandoned, or must be worshipped in their own proper ritual. As we excavated the *hieron* and the hall of initiation beside it, we thought that certain late features appeared; but on closer examination these prove to be parts of the old Phrygian custom. What we have found may be used with confidence as evidence of the primitive forms of the cult.

II.—THE HALL OF INITIATION AT ANTIOCH (PLATE I.)

It is premature at present to describe the central sanctuary and the numerous hieratic and festal buildings around it. Further excavation is needed first. I restrict myself to a small number of monuments and to certain features in the hall of initiation. These show some striking characteristics; and it is a preparation for further study on the spot to attempt a description and classification of them. The reliefs are valueless as works of art, being rude village work. There was in later time no art on the central plateau. One may suspect that anything artistic even in the first century was imported or was the work of a stranger; but in the later third century it is clear that barbarism in art reigned at Antioch, and that there would have been no wish even to import a work of good art, and no appreciation of it if it had been imported.

None of the sculptures published or referred to in this article have any value for Museum purposes. We had to leave some of them in the possession of the native owners; those which we excavated were not thought by the officials worthy of transport to Constantinople, but were left in the cellar of the government house at Yalowadj.¹

¹ The best things found were taken to Constantinople: the rest were piled in this local museum: some were buried where found, such as pottery (all valueless), large inscribed stones, etc.

The hall of initiation was probably a closed chamber, roofed and entered by a single door.¹ The Mysteries were celebrated at night, and the light came from one large torch, carried by the Dadouchos priest (Section XIV.). The hall, therefore, was an *ἀντρον* (*Journal*, p. 163, No. 26): the word *ἀντρον* is applicable both to artificial and to natural covered chambers. It was 53 ft. long by 45 ft. broad, as shown in the plan (Fig. 1). Its orientation is that of the central Sanctuary, which was built first and accommodated to the lie of the ground. The level space for the hall was got partly by cutting the sloping rock of the mountain. The wall N.E. nearest the Sanctuary was partly cut out of the rock. Its thickness is unknown, as the excavation has not been finished on that side.² On the inside a seat or divan 1 ft. 8 in. broad cut in the rock, extends from end to end.

The two walls N.W. and S.E. are about 4 ft. thick. The wall S.W. is 8 ft. thick: it had to be thicker, because it runs across the slope of the hill, and was liable to be pushed outwards and downwards. The corresponding wall of the central Sanctuary is about 20 ft. thick.³ These walls are all built of dry stones, laid on without any binding material; and they derive their strength entirely from their weight and mass. They have no foundation, but are laid on the soil, and piled up. Similar walls are built very skilfully by the local masons at the present day: we employed a man to build some, and it was interesting to watch his way of working. The walls of the Sanctuary were faced with squared stones, but were otherwise made, like those of the present time, of unshaped stones chosen by the mason to suit the place where they were to be put. Plate I. gives four views taken in the hall.

¹ In 1913 we found that there was a second narrow door, 3 ft. wide, in the S.E. wall, 1 ft. 8 in. from the corner E. inside. This door was blocked in ancient times very roughly. Its purpose is obscure. A sort of Pronaos was added to the initiation hall, as shown in the plan, at some later time (whether before or after this door was blocked remains as yet uncertain): its floor was paved with large stones, and under these stones we found many bones, probably of sacrificial victims (though some were declared to be human), also some pottery fragments, which seem to imply that the Pronaos was a very late addition. The floor of the initiation hall consists of a layer of small stones close packed (exactly like the flooring of the stadium, except that the stones are smaller). The soil above the floor, both in hall and Pronaos, is full of bones and teeth of animals. Beneath the Pronaos floor and elsewhere teeth of pigs or wild boar were found, showing that the pig was not forbidden at this sanctuary (see *Histor. Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 32).

² In 1913 we found it to be nearly 4 ft. broad, like the N.W. and S.E. walls. All measurements in the Sanctuary and surroundings are only approximate.

³ It is also strengthened by eight buttresses and two projecting gate posts, built contemporaneously with the wall.

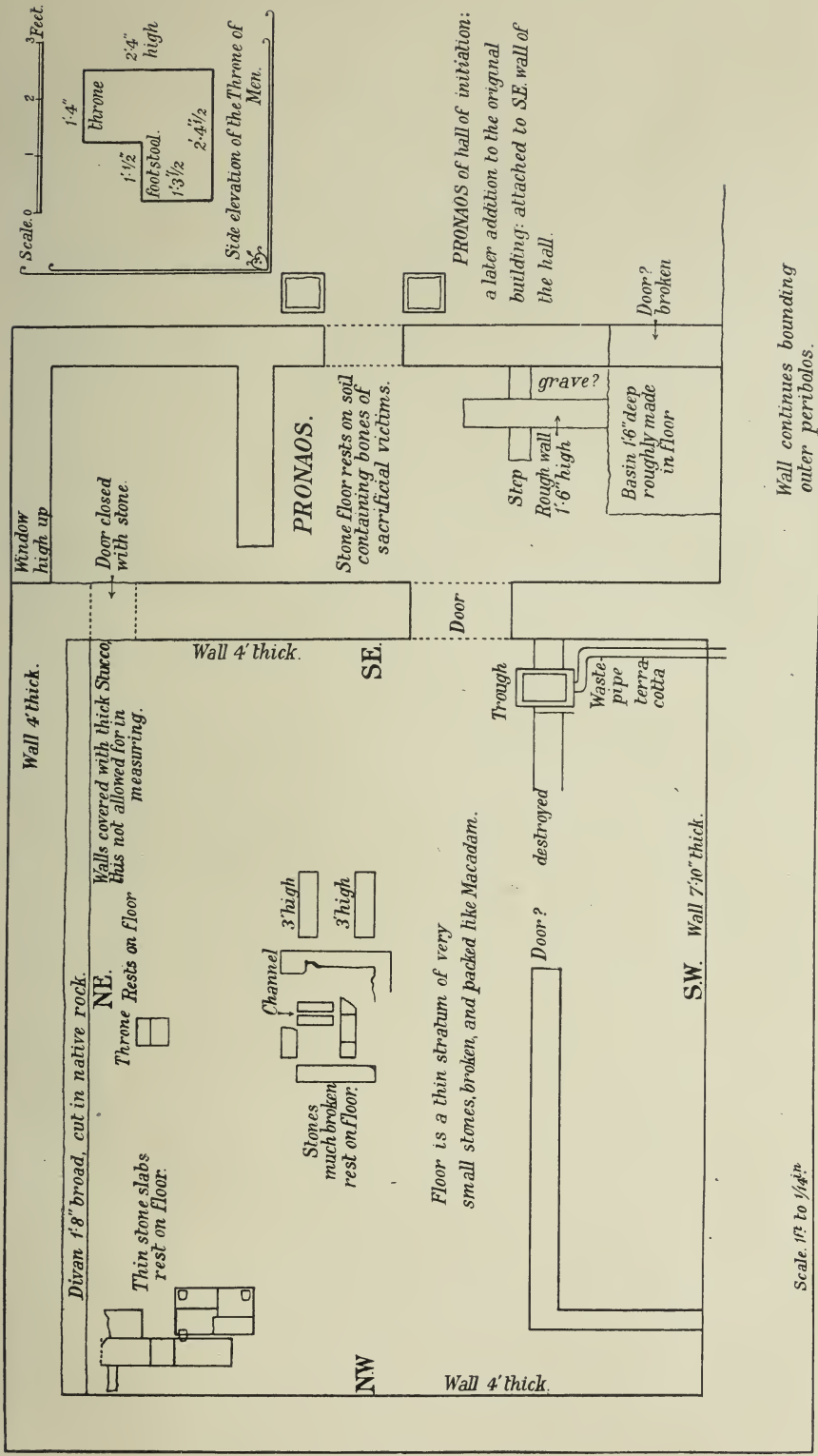


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF HALL OF INITIATION IN THE SANCTUARY OF MEN, EXCAVATED IN 1912, 1913.

While the information which we possess regarding the Phrygian Mysteries is very scanty, and the equipments of the hall are almost completely destroyed, yet the appearance of the chamber and study of the authorities suggest the theory which is stated in the following pages.

The hall of initiation is entered by a door in the S.E. wall, not in the middle, but nearer the S. corner. When the *mystes* entered, he found on his left a high shallow trough, perhaps intended for a preliminary purification; and in the S. corner and along the S.W. wall a series of constructions, now almost totally destroyed, with only faint traces remaining. Between the door and the S. corner, a terracotta waste-pipe carried off the liquid used in the trough, passed under the wall and went out downhill. A partition wall passed from the trough right across to the opposite (N.W.) wall of the initiation hall; but everything here is destroyed almost down to the level of the floor.

Appearances, therefore, point to the view that the part of the hall which lay on the left of the *mystes* as he entered, was separated in a certain degree from the larger part on his right. This separated part constituted a long narrow space or room distinct from the main hall though the separating wall may perhaps not have reached up to the roof, and may in part have consisted only of a colonnade with screens or hangings. The high trough projects 1 ft. beyond the bounding line of the separated chamber.

On Plate I. the view which is numbered 4 is taken from the N.W. wall looking along the dividing wall towards the chamber in the S. corner, and the trough and the door.

My theory is that this separate portion on the left, lying along the S.W. wall, was the scene of what is called *μύησις* in the strict sense. After the *μύησις* the *mystes* proceeded to the next, the higher and perfect stage of initiation, which took place in the centre and right hand part of the hall. The reasons for this view will appear in the sequel: it is stated at this stage only for clearness and to guard against misconception. The reason for separation between the part devoted to *μύησις* and the part devoted to the higher stage was that the former was not in the presence of the god, whereas the latter took place under the eye and before the face of the god. The *mystes*, after his first stage of initiation, was fit to enter the god's presence.

I assume also from the outset that the initiatory rites are those of the

Phrygian Mysteries, and not special Mysteries of the god Men. The grounds of this assumption will appear in detail throughout the article ; and the reasons for it seem conclusive.

The constructions in the hall of initiation are very obscure ; and at first sight we found them almost unintelligible. They have for the most part been destroyed down to the floor ; and the destruction is so complete that, as in the case of the central Sanctuary, it may be presumed to have been intentional. No mere chance destruction by Turkish peasants making use of the building would account for such systematic and complete ruin : the traveller is familiar with the ruin caused by ignorant peasants, but it is always sporadic, accidental, and often comparatively slight. The distance of the modern town, the inferior quality of the stones, and the difficulty of transport down a very steep and rough mountain, prove that the ruin was not caused by spoliation to make the buildings of the present or the old Turkish town : the ruins of the colonia Antiochia were much nearer and supplied better material. The marble, probably, was carried away from these buildings at the Sanctuary, but not the common stone.¹

The clue to the explanation of the equipments in the initiation hall² lies in the observation that the ritual as a whole was Phrygian, and not foreign, and that the initiation rites must be interpreted by what is recorded regarding the Phrygian mystic ritual.

In doing this it is needless to discuss whether the testimony of Clement and other Christian writers refers to the Eleusinian or the Phrygian Mysteries. My view³ is that in the Roman period the popular Mysteries had been to a large degree assimilated throughout the Eastern provinces. The process was partly by way of contamination, in such a fashion that each absorbed elements from the others ; but part of the cause lay in the original character of the most widely popular Mysteries, which was not essentially different in different places. Therefore the assimilation to a common type was easily produced. While considerable modifications may have taken place in certain Mysteries during the Roman

¹ The limestone blocks of the Sanctuary were taken in part to build the church close by.

² About the purpose of this building as a hall of initiation no doubt can exist ; and no doubt was felt by us after the clearing of the building was completed. We began the hall under the impression that it was the residence of the priest of Men. Its situation, outside the Sanctuary and oriented in the same direction, suggested this opinion ; but the progress of the excavation showed clearly the nature of the building.

³ Of course this view is not special to myself ; I merely define my position.

period, the change was almost always in the way of addition: the original ritual remained as the nucleus of an elaborated ceremonial. Probably the Mysteries which are called Phrygian offer the best means of studying the others. The key to interpret the Antiochian Mysteries was found at Klaros near Colophon.

III.—THE MYSTERIES AT KLAROS.

The excavations made by Makridi Bey for the Turkish Imperial Museum have thrown light on the Klarian Mysteries. He has published a series of inscriptions¹ from the *hieron*, which record the visits paid by single delegates, or more frequently groups of delegates or visitors, from foreign states to Apollo of Klaros. The delegation frequently was accompanied by a chorus of *hymnodoi*² (in one case called *molpoi*), which sang a hymn in honour of the god. Laodiceia on the Lycus sent more than one delegation to consult and do honour to the Klarian Apollo. There was a shrine of the Pythian Apollo at Laodiceia, and the prophet of this shrine was in one case the delegate to Klaros. On coins of Laodiceia Pythian types hardly appear,³ but the games Pythia are once mentioned:⁴ this Pythian Apollo was not the great Laodicean deity, but more probably only the god of the Hellenic colonists who were introduced to strengthen Seleucid authority and civilization; while the native Phrygian population kept their god (Zeus, as he was Hellenized, or once apparently Aseis). The Apollo of Laodiceia spoke to and enquired of the Apollo of Klaros.

In passing we may note that this chorus of singers is an extremely interesting feature, and we should gladly learn something about the music and the hymns that they sang. The chorus sometimes came from a long distance to Klaros: it consisted of youths and maidens, called *κόροι* and

¹ *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1906 and 1912.

² Bodies of *hymnodoi* were common in Phrygia and Asia Minor generally, e.g. at Akmonia and Hypaipa: see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. pp. 630, 646, 359; Keil-v. Premerstein, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1908, p. 105.

³ *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 53.

⁴ Mr. Head has cut this coin out of the new edition of his *Hist. Num.*, evidently regarding the authority as insufficient. Eckhel quotes it from Gori, *Mus. Flor.*; but no good numismatist has verified the coin.

κόραι, or ἡίθεοι and παρθένοι. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that the chorus came in accordance with an oracle.

Evidence is found in distant inscriptions of similar delegations to the Klarian Apollo. In the Praipenissian territory of North Phrygia an altar was erected to this god, and the oracle which he had given was engraved on it.¹ In Lydia at Troketta, west from Sardis, a dedication was made to Apollo the Saviour in accordance with a Klarian oracle, which is engraved on the basis.² The date of all these monuments both at and far from Klaros seems to be generally about 50 to 200 after Christ.

These delegations usually sought an oracle. The leaders of the delegations are called 'enquirers' (θεοπρόποι); but the response of the god is not given in the Klarian texts, which mention only the names of the delegates and chorus, and the religious rites which they performed at the temple.

Some of the enquirers were initiated in the Mysteries. The words recording this rite vary. In one case the enquirer ἐπετέλεσε καὶ μυστήρια 'performed also the mystic ritual (besides consulting the oracle).' This describes the act in the most general, vague, and uninformative terms. More illuminative are two other cases.³ In one there appear two enquirers, who being initiated performed the act called ἐμβατεύειν (μνηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν): here this act is apparently a climax or sequel to the initiation. The other case is even more interesting: the enquirer, 'having received the mystic things and words' from the hierophant, performed the act called ἐμβατεύειν (παραλαβὸν τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεβάτευσεν). The general term used in the other case, 'being initiated,' is here more specifically defined in the words, 'receiving the mysteries' from the hierophant. The correlative expression indicating the act of the hierophant, 'the handing over of the mystic things' (παράδοσις τῶν μυστηρίων), is also technical. Both terms must be understood to indicate the ceremony of initiation as a whole (as M. Ch. Lecrivain says),⁴ including the exhibition of the mystic objects, the performance of the mystic acts, and the utterance of the mystic formulae

¹ It is published by Professor A. Petrie in my *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 128.

² Published by Buresch in his *Klaros*, and more correctly by Keil and v. Premerstein in their first *Reise in Lydien* in *Wiener Jahreshefte*, 1910, pp. 8 ff.

³ Makridi Bey published an earlier article on his excavations in the *Jahreshefte* for 1906. One of the two texts is in that first article.

⁴ See art. *Mysteria* in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*, iii. p. 2142 A, note 6.

(δεικνύμενα, δρώμενα, λεγόμενα); but the exhibition of the objects is the most important part of the whole and gives origin to the title of the Hierophant (ἱερὰ φαίνων). The 'tradition or reception of the mysteria,' then, includes all that is given or received, words, enlightenment, etc.

The climax of the 'tradition and reception' is the act called Ἐμβατεύειν, 'taking stand on.' This is the word that Paul caught up and used as preeminently suitable for his purpose in Colossians, ii. 18, where he is writing against one of the Colossian Christians who was introducing into the teaching of the Church, ideas caught from the Mysteries.¹

The century following A.D. 140 was apparently the time when the fame of Klaros was most widely spread. The oracle and cult must have exercised real influence in bringing about that revival of pagan religion which played such a marked part in the last struggles against the growing power of Christianity (commonly called the 'persecutions' of Decius, Diocletian, and Maximin). In these, and in the last especially, the Empire allied itself with the old cults to resist the new faith.²

IV.—THE ACT CALLED Ἐμβατεύειν IN THE PHRYGIAN MYSTERIES.

We need not hesitate to assume that the Mysteries celebrated at Klaros were closely allied to the 'Phrygian' Mysteries, and may be used to illustrate them in all important respects. This term, ἔμβατεύειν, which was evidently technical at Klaros, was known to Paul, and is understood by him to be familiar to the Colossians (ii. 18). It was, in the Phrygian cities, technical for some important act in the Mystic ceremonial. This act was not part of, but followed after the μύησις proper: *μνηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν*. What, then, was this act? Can we determine its nature? A hypothesis is forced on us by a careful scrutiny of certain features in the Antiochian hall of initiation: the act seems to have been performed in this hall, not during the μύησις, but in the centre of the hall during the higher stage of the Mystic ritual. It was therefore a highly significant ceremony.

The verb ἔμβατεύειν means to step into, set foot on, take one's stand on: often it suggests entrance with the purpose of staying. The use in

¹ On this see an article in the *Contemporary Review*, 1913, also a short letter in the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 25, 1913.

² Some features in these persecutions as revealed by inscriptions are described in a paper on *Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions* (see the writer's *Pagan and other Studies in the History of Religion*, Art. IV.).

respect of a ship is typical: the voyager sets foot on the ship with the intention of making the voyage in it. This has led the Revisers in Colossians, ii. 18 to render the verb as 'dwelling in,' which is not right, though one sees how the translators were led to use the expression. The marginal 'taking his stand upon' is better: whereas the Authorized Version, 'intruding into,' suggests a quite wrong idea. Ἐμβατεύειν is to enter on one's own, to tread the right path, rather than to intrude unlawfully.

Although the word (with derivatives) is never used¹ on coins, yet there is a common coin type, characteristic almost exclusively² of Asia Minor, in which this action must be recognized. The type is a hero stepping on to the prow of a vessel: he usually is represented in warlike guise and action, looking back as if he were calling others to follow.³ The person represented is usually the local hero,⁴ and, as the ship occurs on coins in the heart of Asia Minor, hundreds of miles from the sea, the embarcation must be understood as typical of emigration from a foreign transmarine country: the hero leads the migration and cheers on his comrades to follow him. At Erythrae however the hero, who on the coin is named Erythros, steps quietly on to the prow, looking forward, not back. At Amastris, Nicomedeia, etc., the hero is probably starting on the Argonautic Expedition; and this expedition is a mythical expression of the coming of Greek colonization and civilization into those regions. In other cases the hero is landing, stepping from the ship to the shore. At Abydos the scene is local: the tower indicates the coast of the Hellespont, and the hero (named on the coin Lucullus) is landing: probably Lucullus was worshipped as a local hero since the Mithradatic wars, and he steps on to the shore where his cult was to be perpetuated. At Laodiceia on the Lycus, also, the scene is local, for the two rivers appear on each side of the hero, who typifies therefore the colony settled between the rivers Lycus and Kapros: there is no ship in this case, as Laodiceia was an inland

¹ Vaillant has Apollo Ἐμβάσιος on an Ephesian coin; but Mr. Head considers that this (otherwise unknown) coin is misread, and is a bad specimen of the Ἰκέσιος coin.

² It is found also at Thebes in Thessaly and at Elaious of the Chersonese.

³ In what follows I do little more than select from what is said by Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, v. pp. 25 ff., vi. 1. He differs from the interpretation suggested by Dr. Regling in *Klio*, viii. pp. 489 ff., and recurs to the usual and accepted interpretation.

⁴ Regling takes him as Hector or Aeneas on Phrygian coins, and does not take the other coins into consideration.

city.¹ The idea common to all these coins is the new city life, symbolized by the hero founder stepping on to the land of the colony, or on to the ship that is to bear him to that land across the sea. The entrance on a new life, the settlement in a new home—that is *ἐμβατεύσαι*. The word, it is true, is not engraved on the coins, but it is clearly indicated.

This thought of stepping into a new life, therefore, was familiar in Asia Minor, and it would be in accord with the philosophic thought which underlay the Mysteries (as we shall see) that a similar idea should find some symbolical expression in them. The term, as used in both the inscriptions, evidently indicates the climax or final act in the mystic ceremonial; 'being initiated,' or 'receiving the mystic things and words, they performed the act called *ἐμβατεύειν*,' symbolizing that they had entered on a new life, and intended to continue therein.

V.—ENTRANCE TO THE HIGHER STAGE IN THE MYSTERIES.

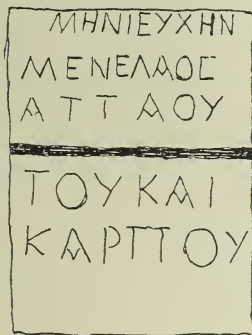
The act called *ἐμβατεύειν* followed upon and was the climax of the *μύησις*: this is clearly indicated by the two expressions *μυηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν* and *παραλαβὸν τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεβάτευσεν*; and yet the act is only an entrance and a beginning. The initiation is here conceived as a preparation leading up to a new beginning: the *mystai* received the mystic things and words (from the hierophant): thereafter they 'entered,' or 'set foot on' (the new stage). There is implied in this a ceremonial in two stages, the *Μύησις* and the *Embateusis*, if we may coin a technical term from the verb. The second stage must evidently correspond to the *Epoptika* at Eleusis (where the word *ἐμβατεύειν* does not occur, so far as is known).

The two stages correspond admirably to the arrangements in the hall of initiation at Antioch (Pl. I. and Fig. 1). The *μύησις* took place in the separate part of the hall, along the S.W. wall. Then the *mystes* was led into the centre of the hall (which is on the right hand as one enters by the door already described, probably the only door of the hall). Here there took place a new series of rites, which we can trace in their general

¹ Allied cases are at Dardanos, the hero Dardanos embarking on a voyage: at Thebes of Phthiotis, Protesilaos from Thebes newly landed on the coast of Troy, which was to be his home in death; at Elaios in the Thracian Chersonese Protesilaos, whose grave and shrine were here, stands on a ship's prow looking forward. At Samos, Imhoof thinks that the hero (of the usual type) is Ankaïos starting on the Argonautic expedition.

sequence. The *mystes* was brought to an entrance between two upright slabs of stone not unlike the two famous sculptured slabs in the *Forum Romanum* (supposed by some to have stood on the Rostra), but much simpler.

These two slabs, of roughly hewn limestone, about 3 ft. high and 4 ft. 6 in. long and 1 ft. 6 in. thick, stood parallel to one another, so as to form an entrance 2 ft. 8 in. broad, and 4 ft. 6 in. long. As the *mystes* approached this entrance, he saw that a slightly architectural look was imparted to it by some cutting on the front of the two slabs (on the corresponding back part of the slabs there is no cutting).¹ Outside the entrance, to the left side of the left-hand slab, there stands on the ground a very large shallow bowl of stone (Plate I. 1): whether this was its original position is hard to say. The *mystes* entered this doorway, passed through it, and emerged into the presence of the god himself. The god's throne was placed in front of the N.E. wall of the hall, free in the open space (Plate I. 2, 4). It is marked as his throne by the inscription engraved on it in late letters, about 300 A.D.



Μηνὶ εὐχὴν

Μενέλαος

Ἀττάου

τοῦ καὶ

Κάρπου

As it would be unsafe to suppose an error of the engraver for Ἀττάου, the name Attaês must be assumed for the father of Menelaos. It has been pointed out in the already quoted paper² on the Pagan Revivalism that divine names were much used during the reaction against Christianity: Attaês otherwise called Karpos must be interpreted in this light, like Theoteknos, Athanatos and many others.

¹ The appearance of the tops proves that cut stones or other material must have rested on the slabs which are still standing in the hall. Thus the entrance formerly had an even stronger resemblance to a door than at present. (Pl. I, 4)

² Section III, p. 46.

The hypothesis that suggests itself is that the two slabs mark the entrance to the divine presence and the new life. The person who presents himself at this gateway after being initiated in the first stage is permitted to set foot on the threshold and to enter on the higher life (*ἐμβατεύειν*). Having entered, he is admitted to the advanced stages and scenes of the Mysteries; and these take place before the throne of the god and in his presence.

Whether the throne was empty during this and the next scene, being reserved for the unseen god, or was occupied by the priest as representing the god on earth, must remain uncertain; but the latter alternative is more probable. The whole ceremonial of the higher grade was the approach of man to god, and its subject was the identification of the *mystes* with the god. The promise was given to the purified 'Happy and blessed, thou shalt be god instead of mortal.' The priest and priestess played the parts of the god and goddess through the scenes of the higher grade. To be identified with the god and goddess is the goal of human life. The goal was attained, as many epitaphs in Phrygia show, at blissful death, when the dead returns to the mother who bore him; and it was attained also as the result of initiation and *Embateuein*.¹ Moreover, we know that the active part in the next scene of the ceremonial was performed by a minister; and there seems no place for the priest (who must have been present), except as presiding and occupying the holy chair.

VI.—THE HIGHER PURIFICATION.

Having passed through the entrance way, the *mystes* found himself close to a quadrangular pool or *lacus*, like the *impluvium* of a Roman *atrium*. This *lacus* is 1 ft. 4 in. from the ends of the entrance slabs (Plate I. 4). It stretched before him, about 9 ft. long, and 7 ft. 6 in. broad. A water channel enters from N.E., but where the water (or other liquid) came from is uncertain.² The pool must have been quite shallow, so that no thought of immersion or complete baptism can occur. In the *lacus* and parallel to

¹ The same idea, which in these examples is expressed in an antique religious form that remained throughout the later pagan period, appears also in epitaphs in a philosophic form: all (material) things spring from the earth and return to the earth (*ἐκ γῆς εἰς γῆν τὰ γαθὰ* and other variations): on which see Keil-v. Premerstein, ii. *Reise in Lydien*, p. 46 and the references which they mention.

² The channel runs far into the pool, and is bordered by two small slabs of stone, 2 ft. 6 in. long, 6 in. broad. It is at the bottom of the pool. The sides of the pool were never cemented, so that it could never have held water, except in very small quantity.

its S.W. border is a line of two or more stones, which stand in the space between the end of the channel and the opposite (S.W.) border.

Presumably some kind of purificatory ceremony was performed at this pool. The stones look as if the *mystes* and the officiating priest both stood in the *lacus*, the priest on the stones, the *mystes* beside him (probably cowering down on his heels at first).

A rite of similar type formed part of the Phrygian Mysteries. Demosthenes describes it,¹ in his invective against Aeschines, whose mother was a strolling priestess—one of those that carried the religion of Phrygian Cybele about Attica in the fourth century B.C.—and who had acted as her assistant minister. ‘When you grew to man’s estate,’ says the orator, ‘you assisted your mother as she performed the ritual: you read from the books the words of the formulae and helped her in the rest of the foolery. By night you used to put the fawnskin on and pour water from the krater over, and perform the rite of cleansing for those whom she was initiating, and you used to scrub them with mud and bran, and make them stand up² after the purification, and bid them say: “I have escaped the evil: I have found the better” (ἐφύγον κακόν· εὐρον ἄμεινον).’

This was the rite, probably, that was performed at the *lacus*, before the throne of the god.

I have never been able to doubt that words like this formula had a moral sense, and implied that in the Mysteries some suggestion of progress in social life was set forth before the *Mystai*. There was in the Mysteries no formal dogmatic teaching; but by means of actions, verbal formulae, and things that were shown to the initiated, certain ideas and lessons about human nature and its relations to the divine power were suggested.

VII.—THE HOLY MARRIAGE.

From the purificatory scene, the *Mystes* moved on—perhaps through several intermediate scenes—to the perfect scene of human life, the representation of the foundation on which society rests. This was the mystic marriage of the god and the goddess, as symbolic of earthly marriage. The divine life is the model of human life. The gods have taught what men should do, both in their relation to one another and in their relation to god. Many reliefs represent the deity as teaching

¹ *De Corona*, 259 f.

² They had been cowering before.

man by doing in person what man should do in approaching god. The gods themselves reveal to men the right way of living. As an example a relief of Koloe in Lydia may be quoted: a drawing of it is published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63, and another in Roscher's *Lexicon*, iv, 244, by Keil and v. Premerstein.¹ The relief is in two zones: in the upper the god performs the same act of libation on an altar which the priest is performing in the lower zone. There is a heavenly counterpart and model for everything on earth.

Much might be said about the Holy Marriage in the Mysteries. My view is that the early marriage ceremony of the Anatolian and pre-Hellenic Greek religion was the performance by the human pair of the mystic rite. The gods have taught what should be done, and men must do the same. According to a scholiast, the married pair celebrate the sacred marriage in honour of Zeus and Hera. Usener, *Ital. Mythen in Rh. Mus.* xxx. p. 227, quotes this from *Lex. Rhetor.* p. 670 (Porson), p. 345 (Nauck), and unhesitatingly refers it to the Athenian rite. The rites of early Anatolian Marriage were adopted by the Gauls of Galatia long before the Christian era, as is proved in my *Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, pp. 88-91. A survival of the same rite is alluded to in the legend of St. Abercius.

In the Attic marriage rite the formula, ἔφυγον κακόν· εὖρον ἄμεινον, was pronounced. The Attic rite, therefore, goes back to a model in the earliest form of the Mysteries, a form common to Anatolia and Attica. This marriage rite was a performance of the sacred marriage as shown in the Mysteries, with the bride and bridegroom playing the parts of the goddess and the god, while the priestess of Demeter taught them. In the Mysteries the priest and priestess represented the divine pair; and, as ancient authorities from different points of view mention, the rite of the divine marriage was enacted by the priest and the priestess within the *Pastos*, the holy nuptial chamber. Considering the character of several scenes which are mentioned as occurring in the Mysteries, and considering the duty of service at these Anatolian sanctuaries, mentioned by Strabo as being in his time still imposed on women, we must infer that the holy marriage was exhibited as the newer and higher law. The Mysteries present human life as a progress from savagery: the life of the

¹ Less accurate representation in Wagener's art. in *Mémoires Couronnés par l'Acad. de Belgique*, xxx. The relief has often been described.

god and goddess was played as a drama of progress in moralisation. The servants of the goddess in their human life passed as a matter of ritual through the same stages of knowledge and life as the goddess herself; and the service as *παλλακίς* was required from devotees as a preliminary to the higher life of marriage in the Lydian city of Tralleis as late as the end of the second century after Christ.¹ In no other way can the testimony of Cicero and other good authorities as to the purifying and elevating influence of the mystic ceremonial be interpreted.

Dieterich thinks that the marriage in the Mysteries was of the god and the *mystes* (conceived always as female). That this was so seems not probable. The Mysteries are originally the cult of Cybele, in whose life the god is a by-figure and an episode. The goddess was originally the embodiment of the divine idea, as the mother, nurturer, teacher, and guardian of her people. Dieterich's idea could only be true in a late development of the Anatolian religion, when the god had become the principal figure. Yet we may accept his view in this form, that the *mystae* identify themselves in sympathy with the life and the action of the divine pair.

Now at the N. corner of the hall at Antioch are what I take to be traces of the *Pastos*, viz. the supporting stones on which probably the *Pastos* rested, and in it the marks of three of the feet of the holy bed for the marriage ceremony. To this *Pastos* belongs the scene alluded to in the formula quoted by Clemens: 'I have eaten from the tympanon: I have drunk from the cymbal: I have carried the kernos: I have gone into the Pastos:' *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν.* It is probable that all these four acts were parts of the same final scene. Eating from the same bowl and drinking from the same cup (in each case divine utensils being employed) were naturally parts of the marriage rite;² but the words are not certain, as Firmicus gives them differently: *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα· ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα· γέγονα μύστης Ἄττεως.* Similar words may have been used at two separate parts of the holy drama. The words quoted by Firmicus imply, perhaps, that the eating and drinking which he has in mind took place in the *μύστης*; and that these acts are quoted in the *Embateusis*

¹ See the inscription which I published in *B. C. H.* 1883, p. 276, and which has frequently been reported and commented on.

² On the meaning and nature of the rite see my article on *Anatolian Religion* in *Hastings' Dic. Bib.* V. p. 127 A.

as justification for the *Mystes* presenting himself for the higher stage. He had become initiated and he enters on the higher grade: *μυθηεὶς ἐνεβάτευσεν*, according to the Klarian inscription.

It may be regarded as highly probable that the verb *ἐμβατεύειν*, while strictly denoting the first step in the higher initiation, implies also the succeeding steps; and that *ἐνεβάτευσεν* in the Klarian inscriptions means that the person after being initiated in the (lower grade of the) Mysteries, *i.e.* *γεγονὼς μύστης Ἄττειωσ*, performed the whole higher grade: in other words, *Embateusis* implied the entire *Εροπτικά*, following on the actual entrance.

VIII.—THE GOD OF ANTIOCH.

The ritual, as far as we can trace it, is purely Phrygian. The god Men, if he was in origin foreign and non-Phrygian (as to which I express no positive opinion), was taken into the divine family of the Anatolian cult, and identified with a figure of that cult. This figure was Attis, Atis, Attes, or Atys.¹ On this supposition the assumed immigrant Men, the god of a foreign incoming race, was identified with the Phrygian Atis, just as in Attica the immigrant Poseidon was identified with the Erechtheus of the Athenaia cult, and the double name Poseidon-Erechtheus remained in official use (though popular tradition and custom in Attica preserved the memory of the two distinct figures and kept the names separate, as in Phrygia).

Men continued to be the predominant figure of the Antiochian cult. The main Sanctuary belongs to him. Every one of the hundreds of dedications is to him (where any name is mentioned).² Yet the title of his priest was *ἱερεὺς Μηνὸς καὶ Δημητρός*, and in the process of clearing the Sanctuary we found a small 'chapel' in the S. corner, which was evidently sacred to a goddess of the Demeter or Cybele type, as all the objects found in it were of that cult. It may be assumed that in the title of the priest (towards 300 A.D.) Demeter is a Hellenization of the Phrygian Cybele. When the priest was made into an Archiereus, the name of

¹ The spelling varies, and the second vowel: Atis occurs in an official Pessinuntine inscription of the second century B.C., Atyochorion in the Hyrgalean plain near Dionysopolis, Attiukome at Orkistos, and Attoudda on the Phrygo-Carian frontier.

² Zeus of Heliopolis is once mentioned as consecrated in the sanctuary.

the goddess was dropped, and only ἀρχιερεὺς πατρίου θεοῦ Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνῶ remained.¹

This would, even standing alone, be a sufficient and complete proof that, in Antioch, either Men was adopted into the ritual of a Demeter-Cybele goddess, or *vice versa*; and in Phrygia the latter alternative may be mentioned only to be dismissed as impossible. The importance of the goddess is confirmed by the fact that she had also a separate temple at a little distance from the great Sanctuary. This temple is in a very ruinous condition, but there were found in it only objects of the Cybele or Artemis ritual.² There were no inscriptions with the name of the deity; but the objects showed clearly that the goddess was regarded both as Artemis and as Cybele. The same double identification is characteristic of the whole Antiochian region: the name used is generally Artemis, but the features are those of Cybele or of the Ephesian goddess, and the priest is an *Archigallos* (who is peculiar to the Cybele worship).³

If Men Askaênos was a foreign god introduced into the Phrygian cult, he would certainly have to be regarded as coming from the East, for his presence in Pontus and among the Albanoi favours that view. On the other hand there is no evidence to disprove the opinion expressed in my *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. p. 169: 'Men and Attis are deities of similar character, probably derived ultimately from the same cultus, but differentiated by development in different surroundings: in the fact that the city where Men Karou is worshipped bears the name Attoudda "City of Attis," we may fairly see a proof of the ultimate identity of these two deities.'

Yet it must be remembered that from the inscriptions alone we could find no evidence to differentiate Anaitis of Lydia and Maconia as foreign from the native Anatolian Artemis. In the cult, as it appears in inscriptions,

¹ On the whole process see Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913: he states the evidence and proves the inferences fully.

² This temple is too ruinous to give positive evidence; but probably it is older than the central Sanctuary. It stands on the highest peak of the mountain, close under the summit, and is perhaps pre-Hellenic, representing the original sanctity of this spot as an isolated lofty mountain (clearly divided from Sultan Dagħ by a deep chasm) among the old Phrygian and pre-Phrygian natives. In my article in the *Contemp. Rev.* 1912, stress was laid on the spring near the top of the mountain, close to the church, as being probably an element in causing the sanctity: this is corroborated by a dedication to the Nymphs (*Nymphai*) found in the wall of the church in 1913. The surface of the mountain top is strewn with scraps of haematite iron ore; but we saw no sign that the ore was smelted.

³ Anderson, *l.c.*

the foreign and Persian Artemis was quite merged in the native goddess. It is however certain both that Anaitis was an immigrant goddess, brought by the foreigners whom the Persian kings planted in Lydia, and that there were features in her cult (as Pausanias mentions) which betrayed her difference in character from the purely Lydian goddess. It may be the same with Men. The case is not yet decided.

As Men is paired at Antioch with Demeter, so in the Lydian Katakekaumene (*i.e.* Maeonia) he is paired with Anaitis or Meter Artemis or Meter ·Atimis: see Keil-v.Premmerstein, *Reise in Lydien*, 1908, p. 29; Drexler in Roscher's *Lex. art. Men*, ii. 2703 f.; S. Reinach, *Chron. d'Orient*, i. 159; Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* xx. 1896, pp. 99 f.; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 67.

IX.—THE GODDESS AT ANTIOCH.

The goddess to whom the chapel in the Sanctuary of Men was dedicated, was indicated as Demeter, not merely in the official title, but also by a marble statue of small size, perhaps about 3 ft. high. This stood in the chapel which was appropriated to the goddess in the corner of the sanctuary of Men. In the wreck of the sanctuary the statue was broken in pieces, and we found nothing of it except the head, which is figured in an article by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. This head is one of a Janiform pair, two complete heads joined at the back, with a single high *kalathos* rising between them. Either we have here a duplication of the goddess, perhaps in two different aspects as Demeter and Artemis, or Demeter and Selene (compare the triplication described in the following Section X.), or the statue presents conjoined heads of Men and Demeter. On one side of the *kalathos* is a crescent, and on each of the two fronts of the *kalathos* is a star. Thus each head has its own star, while the crescent belongs to the two heads in common. A simple duplication of Demeter might be compared with the two Nemeseis of Smyrna.

That the goddess Demeter, who is paired with Men at Antioch in the official title on inscriptions, must be simply a Hellenized form of Cybele, seems to me to be beyond doubt. The cult, so far as we can trace it in the archaeological evidence, is the Phrygian ritual. Demeter has no footing in Phrygia, except through the tendency, which grew strong in late Roman times, to identify the divine conceptions of different regions, and to empha-

size the similarity of the Mysteries at Eleusis with Mysteries in general. On coins of Antioch Cybele occurs, and Artemis, both of the type Pergaia and of the Hellenic type ; but not Demeter.

My view has been and is, that in a large number of cases the names of Hellenic gods in Asia Minor were applied in Greek inscriptions to the native gods. Dr. Drexler on Men, p. 2757, thinks I have carried this principle too far, but acknowledges that it is true to a certain extent.¹ I do not count it as invariably applicable: *e.g.* at Laodiceia (as above mentioned) I think that Apollo was a true Greek god, but Zeus was a Hellenic name used of a Phrygian god (and so also Asklepios in the same city). Opinions will be different as to the limits of application of this principle. But in the case of Demeter at Antioch I am sure that Dr. Drexler will recognize Cybele under a Greek name, quite as confidently as I do.

An example of the late tendency to introduce into Anatolia Eleusinian forms appears in an inscription of Almasun in Lycaonia (near the site of Derbe), published by Sterrett, W. E. No. 40, and recopied by me in 1901.²

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Οὔετρα(νός?) πατήρ καὶ Ἀτιλίᾳ Ἰνγένουα μήτηρ
ἐκόσμησαν Ἀτιλίαν | Μαρτίναν θυγατέρα | ἐτών ιε'. | wreath | παρθέναν
ἀπὸ Δα[εῖ]ρας τιμῆς χάριν.

The last two lines, separated by a wreath, express a title of honour which belonged to the lost girl. Mr. Calder pointed out to me that Daeira is an old Attic or Eleusinian heroine or goddess, wife of Eumolpos the hero-ancestor of the Eumolpidae priests. Her nature has been much discussed,³ and the question need not here be treated ; but the fact that she appears in native Attic ritual inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. shows that she is ancient in Attica, and therefore cannot be regarded as a true Lycaonian figure. She belongs to the extension of Hellenic names and forms over Asia Minor.

¹ Ramsay's an verschiedenen Stellen ausgesprochene Ansicht, dass die beiden grossen einheimischen Gottheiten Kleinasiens, die er sich zu einander im Verhältniss von Mutter und Sohn stehend denkt, unter den mannigfachsten Namen, je nach den verschiedenen Seiten ihres Wesens, uns entgegentreten, verdient ja gewiss Beachtung. Aber . . . then he assigns a larger share than I think right, to the Greek element in the population of inner Asia Minor.

² I made the following corrections on Sterrett's copy, comparing it with the stone : 3, for THN read THP (as St. corrects in transcription), 8, for IAC read PAC. Λ and C are difficult to distinguish from A and E.

³ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. pp. 138f., 338 and the ancient authorities and modern scholars quoted by him on Daeira.

What the exact sense of *παρθέναν ἀπὸ Δαείρας* may be is doubtful. The words cannot mean 'descended from Daeira,' for in that case *τῶν ἀπὸ Δαείρας* would be the proper form, compare "Ἀρδὺς τῶν ἀπ'" Ἀρδύος Ἑρακλειδῶν at Klaros. Perhaps it means 'maiden of the course or service of Daeira': Atilia was a *parthenos* in a chorus of the ritual. Of this kind of chorus of *Hymnodoi* examples are mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. Possibly the ἡῖθεοι of the chorus were called ἀπὸ Εὐμόλπου, and the *παρθένοι* were ἀπὸ Δαείρας: Mr. Calder compares *aedituus a Diana*.

On *παρθέναν* for *παρθενόν* see Hatzidakis in *Einleitung in die neuogr. Grammatik*, p. 24. It is possible that *οὐετρα* may be an abbreviation of *οὐετρανός*, and that Ti. Claudius was a retired soldier; but this abbreviation is rare in Anatolian epigraphy¹; and we should perhaps regard it as a cognomen, treating *Vetera Οὐέτρα* as accusative used for nominative. The name Ti. Claudius requires some cognomen (like Vetus).

The hieratic use of *παρθένος* may be illustrated from another Lycanian inscription (found between Lystra, Korna?, Nova Isaura, and Isaura, at the village of Appa)²: *Μᾶ, Παππᾶ θυγάτηρ, παρθένος κὲ κατὰ γένος ἰέρεια τῆς θεοῦ κὲ | τῶν ἀγίων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέλαβεν κὲ | ἐκεράμωσεν τὸν ναόν.* From this text it can be confidently gathered that Ma belonged to a priestly family: she bears the name of the goddess whose priestess she is, and her father bears the name of his god (though *Παπᾶς* is a more usual spelling than *Παππᾶς*). Doubtless in her youth she had acted as one of the *παρθένοι* in a chorus of *Hymnodoi* (such as are described in Section III.). Hieratic duty in the late pagan revival seems to have lain to some considerable extent in certain old priestly families, for several inscriptions lay stress on the hereditary nature of the duty. The family of the Epitynchanoi played an important part in the movement from the time of Decius to that of Maximin.³ Aurelia Aemilia, the pallakis (already mentioned in Section VII, p. 53 note), mentions that she was sprung *ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων*.

¹ I know no other example.

² In *B.C.H.* xi, 1887, p. 63 the text (which I have vainly sought in repeated visits) is published by MM. Radet and Paris: their copy seems almost perfectly correct, but not their transcription. The copy needs only one correction: **K** three times should have a short horizontal stroke in the angle, making it a *lettre liée* of **κ** and **ε**. This ligature is very common, but is not often observed by copyists.

³ Various examples of this class of inscriptions of the pagan reaction are given in a paper on *Pagan Revivalism and the Persecutions of the Early Church*, in my *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 103 ff. (where, as I observed too late, the inscription of Ma is quoted and restored).

X.—THE GODDESS OF ANTIOCH AS HEKATE. (Plate II.)

A small marble statuette, 6 inches high, found in the temple of Artemis Cybele, presents a remarkable (and so far as my knowledge extends, unique) conception of the goddess. It has a certain resemblance to the Greek Hekate Trimorphos, showing a triple-bodied, and triple-headed female figure, united in a single half-columnar form; but whereas the triple Hekate is a completely rounded columnar form, whose three heads look in widely divergent directions (inclined at an angle of 120° to each other), this triple Cybele seems to have stood against a flat background, so that her three heads all look forwards (one at right angles to the background, and the other two right and left of the central body). Probably, however, the difference from the Hekate-Trimorphos type is only artistic and sculptural: the idea in the cult is the same, but this form is adapted to exhibition in a temple with a wall as background.

Each of the six hands of the triple Artemis-Cybele holds and presses to her side a bird, a good deal mutilated in most cases, but all clearly of the same form. The preservation is so bad, that only one of the six objects held in the six hands is evidently a bird; but the look of this one leaves no doubt what the others are. Mr. Hogarth identified the birds, and pointed out the striking analogy to a small figure found in the lowest stratum of the excavations at the Ephesian temple of Artemis. This figure (*Excavations at Ephesus*, p. 157, 2, and Pl. XXIV. 8) is a single goddess-form, holding two birds pressed to her two sides¹; and the shape of the head, combined with the analogy of many other cases (on which, see Mr. Hogarth in the same volume, p. 336) shows that the birds are hawks. The goddess is conceived as the patron of the wild, *πότνια θηρῶν*. The analogy is convincing: the Antiochian figure has hawks in her hands. Here, again, we have an ancient ritual conception, lasting practically unchanged from a very early stage in the cult down to the late Roman period. The ritual of this Helleno-Roman shrine of Men and Demeter preserves the exact forms of the old Anatolian cult.

¹ Sir Cecil Smith's description p. 157 is as follows: 'modelling somewhat rough: feet not indicated: part in columnar form, but from feet up more carefully treated. She holds in each hand at her waist, a hawk. The dress is the usual girt Ionic chiton. The hair is arranged like that of No. 1 without the tectix, and the surface of the head itself is carved in a series of ridges concentric with the crown.'

That the goddess herself, and not a priestess, is intended in this figure seems beyond doubt. The hawk-bearing figure from Ephesus would be doubtful, if it stood alone; but the analogy of the Antiochian Hekate-Cybele now makes its character certain also. The hawk-bearer is the goddess herself.

The triplication of the goddess-body implies, then, no real alteration of the conception. Whether with two hands, or with six, she grasps her own fosterlings, as their protector. As to the origin of the triple form, I see no reason to shrink from maintaining the suggestion, which I put forward many years ago in an article on *the Religion of Asia Minor and the pre-Hellenic Religion of Greece*,¹ and which may be summarized thus:

The goddess was not merely mother and nurse of her people: she was also their teacher, and their guide in the ways of civilization, social progress, agriculture, apiculture, etc. Where human power was unable to secure respect for institutions required in the common interest of the social body, the divine power was invoked to ensure respect and inviolability. The cleanliness of streets and public places was guarded by hermai or pillars which represented Apollo Agueios. The boundary stones between properties were made inviolate as abodes of divine power. The public advantage was the concern of the god, who punished all infraction of the respect due to him, for all wrong-doing or uncleanness or violence in presence of his image or abiding-place was a crime against him. Thus roads and communication from town to town were placed under divine protection by upright god-stones (which often had information or numbers engraved on them and thus became 'mile-stones'): such a stone is a 'Beth-El' or 'home of god.' These road-stones frequently developed into road-shrines, similar in general character to the shrines of the Virgin in Catholic countries on roads. A meeting or crossing of roads or streets (*compitum*), being specially important, was placed under divine guard.² As the anthropomorphic tendency grew, the guardian of the three meeting roads became the triple form of the goddess, looking along the three roads. In Italy the guardian of the archway and door was a Janus looking with two faces in opposite directions. Before anthropomorphism grew strong the divine presence was perhaps indicated by the *Triskeles*, whose three legs

¹ In Vol. V. of *Hastings' Dict. Bib.* pp. 109 ff. : published 1904, but written two years earlier.

² *Ibid.* V. p. 111.

diverging from a centre typified the three lines of intercourse meeting at the *compitum*. The religious ritual of the *compitalia* in Italy had, doubtless, an Anatolian counterpart, which was connected with the triple-formed *τρικάρανος* goddess and also with the *Triskeles*. Similarly the goddess of crossing streets was *τετρακάρανος*, *τετραπρόσωπος*, *τετραοδίτις*; and Hekate is so called in a late hymn, and at the same time *τρίκτυπε*, *τρίφθογγε*, *τρικάρανε*.¹

XI.--THE MONUMENTS AT SAGHIR IN THE REGION OF ANTIOCH.

At Saghir, 6 hrs. N.N.E. from Antioch, high on the slope of the Sultan Dagħ, many of the Tekmoreian monuments and lists have been found;² and there can be little doubt that here was the chief Tekmoreian religious (but not social) centre. It is marked as an old sacred place by Mohammedan belief. There are in the village two Turbes, the upper and the lower. The upper Turbe is a small rude building, into which we were not admitted: the 'Dede' who is buried there is called Saghir-Ishik: there is beside it a Tekke of Cutchuk Ali (Little Ali). The lower Turbe is a rude enclosure of stones surrounding a grave open to the sky, said to be the resting place of Selmani Pak. A Turbe with its habitant Dede is a regular feature on all ancient sites in Asia Minor, as is pointed out in my article on *The permanent attachment of religious awe to special sites in Asia Minor*.³

The whole series of the known epigraphic monuments of Saghir were published in two articles on 'The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends,' one in my *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*,⁴ pp. 305-377, the other correcting and completing it, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1912, pp. 151 ff.⁵ At present I add a new fragmentary inscription with a date; also an account of some religious reliefs found in the village. There is a possibility that 'the Hieron of Men in the region of Antiochians' (see Section I.) was at or near Saghir; but hitherto all

¹ *Hermes*, iv. p. 64: Ramsay, *Histor. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 219.

² The opinion of Professor Sterrett (who in many ways did much service in the discovery and correct copying of these monuments) and Dr. Ziebarth (*Gr. Vereinswesen*, p. 67) and Dr. Judeich (*Alt. von Hierapolis*, p. 120), that Tekmorion was a place, is now antiquated.

³ *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 163 ff.

⁴ It is quoted henceforth as Q.

⁵ It is quoted henceforth as *Journal*.

the monuments found there belong to the late second or the third century after Christ, and mostly to the third. One alone is clearly of the first century.¹ If that *hieron* was at Saghir, its exact position has yet to be found; and until really ancient remains have been discovered, there can be no assurance about the identification. See below, Section XII.

The *hieron* of Zeus Ourydamênos or Eurydamênos, who is mentioned in four inscriptions, may have been situated either at Saghir or at Kundanli (Gondane, where several Tekmoreian monuments have been found), or further west. On the Phrygian and non-Hellenic character of this deity, see Q, pp. 359 f.; as he had a chorus of flute-players he must be regarded as a Phrygian god.

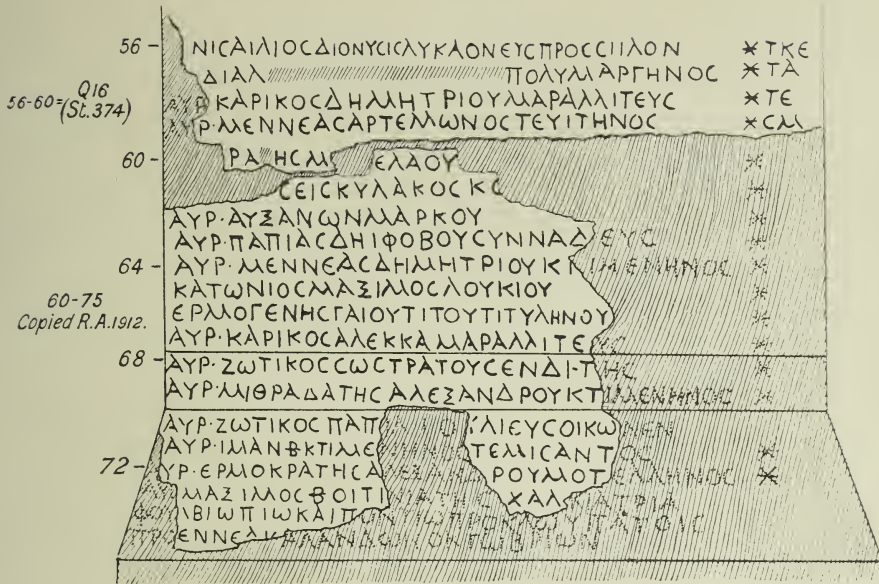
One of these inscriptions was found at Apollonia, but was probably carried, as it is built into the wall of a modern building. Another was found in the valley between Apollonia and the lake Limnai (Hoiran-Göl). A third belongs to Genj-Ali on the lake, at the west end, where the Apollonia valley and the road from Apollonia to Antioch touch the lake. The fourth reference to the god occurs incidentally in a Tekmoreian list at Saghir.

These are all enumerated in Q, pp. 359 f.; and I have only to add that the first text was recopied by Mr. Anderson and myself in 1912. The localities would point rather to a western site for the sanctuary of Ourydamenos than to Saghir or even Kundanli; but that he is a form of Men, hellenized in an unintelligent fashion by ignorant popular etymology, still seems to me very probable (as in Q, p. 360).

XII.—DATE OF THE TEKMOREIAN LISTS.

These lists belong to the third century, as has been recognized since 1883, when the first was published in *J.H.S.*, with the solitary exception of Q 9 (see *Journal*, p. 158), which is earlier than A.D. 212, and probably of late second century. No exact date, however, occurred, until in 1912 Mr. Anderson and I copied a fragment at Saghir. It contains the last lines of an inscription, which may perhaps be the conclusion of Q 16 (St. 374).

¹ Q No. 24 p. 345 and *Journal*, p. 162.



- 60 Μενε?]κρά[τ]ης Μ[εν]ελίου
 Αὐρ.]ς Εἰσκύλακος Κε[ρασιανός] ?
 Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων Μάρκου [.
 Αὐρ. Παπίας Δηφόβου Συνναδ[εύς]
- 65 Αὐρ. Μενέας Δημητρίου Κ[]
 Κατώνιος Μάξιμος Λουκίου
 Ἐρμογένης Γαίου Τίτου Τιτυληνοῦ
 Αὐρ. Καρικός Ἀλεκκᾶ Μαραλλιτε[εύς]
 Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Σωστράτου Σενδή[τ]ης
- 70 Αὐρ. Μιθραδάτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Κτ[ιμενηνός]
 Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Παπ[ίου Ἰου]λιεύς οἰκῶ[ν ἐν
 Αὐρ. Ἰμαν β'. Κτιμε[νηνός] τεμίσαν[τος] ?
 Αὐρ. Ἐρμοκράτης Ἀ[λεξάνδ]ρου Μοτ[ελληνός] ?
 Αὐρ. Μάξιμος β. Οἰτι[νιάτης] χάλ[κ]ια τρία ?
- 75 Φουλ]βίφ Πίφ καὶ Π[οντίφ] Πρόκλφ ὑπάτοις
 πρὸ] ἐννέα Κ[αλανδῶν] Ὀκτωβρίων

Conjecturally I restore this fragment, which begins in the middle of line 60, on the supposition that it is the conclusion of Q 16 (St. 374). Aur. Karikos son of Alekkas in 67 is the same person who is named in Q 15,

60. The present fragment, therefore, is nearly of the same time as Q 15, but cannot be a part of the same stone. Now Q 16 is of that description, and the M of Q 16, 60 is probably the beginning of the name, whose last five letters are preserved in the first line of this fragment. In general arrangement the two parts suit each other; but there cannot be any certainty until they have been placed against one another, which is not possible. In the text of lines 56-59 and the first half of 60, I follow Professor Sterrett's copy as published. In 1886 I revised his copy on the stone, but restricted my revision to the local names, which I recopied with considerable alteration in 56, and some other slight changes, but I did not interest myself in the personal names, being hurried.

In l. 60 the first name may be [Μενε]κράτης or similar name, or [Αύρ] Κράτης. In Q 15, 60 Ἀλεκκάς is an error of the engraver for Ἀλεκκᾶ. Now Q 15 and Q 16 contain a very large proportion of identical names, and the order is approximately similar in the two lists, so that beyond doubt they were engraved in successive years, or with no long interval of time between them. Yet the differences in names and in sums contributed prove that the two lists are not duplicates. This parallelism does not facilitate the further restoration of the present fragment, so far as I can see.

In l. 65 Catonius Maximus has not the pseudo-praenomen Aur. He belongs to a family which had acquired the *civitas* before A.D. 212.¹ This corresponds to the inference which can be drawn from Q. 2, 17, where C. Catonius M.F. Mordianus belongs to a Roman family.

In l. 66 Γάιος should probably be read, and also Τιτυλληνός (unless further change is needed in this name, e.g. Βιτυλληνός). The engraver has evidently got mixed up in his letters and cases. Another example of such confusion is Q 4 (R. iii.) 42-43.

Line 71 presents a serious difficulty. Ἄρ]τεμις² Ἄντ[ήγορος] seems an easy restoration; but there is not room for Αρ after Κτιμε[νηνός].³ Moreover, this inscription has invariably one name in each line, and τεμις cannot safely be taken as part of the name of a second contributor. I conjecture that τ is for θ; and that the archaic and poetic word θεμίζω was revived (like δάος etc.⁴) in this artificial Greek, and that there is false concord as so often the case with δοντός (used in these lists where δούς

¹ On this see Miss Hardie (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck) in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 147.

² ι for ει: the name Ἀρτέμις is common.

³ Κτιμενηνός fills the gap, and τεμι (=θεμι?) must be the beginning of a word.

⁴ See *Journal*, pp. 153, 163.

is required). *θεμίζειν* was, as I conjecture, a duty in the Tekmoreian Association.

In 72 Μοτ[ελληνός] is a tempting restoration. Motella was closely connected with an ancient *Hieron* of the Hyrgalean country and Imperial estate, on which see *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 141.

Σενδήτ[ης] must be a native of Sinda, either a village on the estates near Antioch, or Sinda in Pisidia, *Cities and Bish.* i, 267, 317.

In 73 Οἰτι[μιάθης], probably an error of engraving for Οἰτινιάθης, occurs in Q. 2, 119 (R. I.). In both cases it is preceded by β' = *δῖς*, and Professor Sterrett reads Βοιτινιάθης in Q 2 ; but the cross-mark on B is clear.

This small fragment is of the highest value. (1) It gives a date,—the first known among the Tekmoreian lists—by the Consuls of A.D. 238. (2) It shows that the Imperial Asian Calendar introduced into the province Asia by Imperial decree shortly before Christ (arranged according to the birthday of Augustus A.D. ix. Kal. Oct., so that every month began on a day called Sebaste on the ninth before the Kalends), was employed also on the Estates, where the Tekmoreian Religious Society existed. (3) It proves that some one of the days Sebaste was selected for the festival and contribution commemorated in the list, of which this fragment is a part : therefore the Tekmoreian Association connected its ritual with the Imperial cult, as arranged by Augustus. (4) If we could trust the above restoration of the name of the month, we should have the first day of the Imperial year and birthday of Augustus as the great day of the Tekmoreian cult. This would prove that, as I supposed (see Q), the religious organization of the population on the estates originated from Augustus.

These inferences, which except (4) are all obvious and certain, confirm the main conclusions stated in my two articles. The Tekmoreian Association was the organization of the cultivators of the great Imperial estates, originally the property of Men (in association with Artemis-Cybele) near Antioch, as described by Strabo, pp. 557, 577. These estates came into the possession of Augustus as a part of the kingdom of Galatia, which he inherited from Amyntas in 25 B.C. Augustus governed the population of the estates through his procurator, who *ex officio* was priest of the local religion of Artemis-Cybele and Men. The Emperor thus succeeded to the position of the god as Lord, master, father, and guardian of the people ; and the great holiday and festival of the year in

the religious association of the coloni on the estates was the birthday of Augustus.

All these inferences, though rather bold, had already been accepted by Professor M. Rostovtzev in his *Studien zur Geschichte des röm. Kolonats (passim)*; but the confirmation is welcome. The further opinion advanced in my two papers that this Association became connected with and a centre of the anti-Christian movement is neither disproved nor confirmed by the dating: it stands as before, quite possible and suited to the date, but still only a hypothesis. Mr. Anderson's forthcoming paper in the *Journal of Roman Studies* offers some indirect corroboration of it.

In my two papers, especially Q pp. 355 f., it is pointed out that the lists of names fall into two groups: one mainly consists of Q 2 (*i.e.* R I), p. 319, the longest of the series and almost complete (except parts of a few lines):¹ we may call this series B. The other contains Q 15 and Q 16 (St. 373, 374), and probably also Q 17 and Q 4 (St. 375 and R IV.): it is Series A. As is there shown, Series B is nearly a generation later than Series A. Several sons of persons in A appear in B; but in one case the same person appears in A and in B. 'The interval must therefore be less than fifty years, and probably not more than 25 or 30 years.' It seemed then necessary to keep the inference wide; but now we may say that Series A is less than one generation (30 years) earlier than B.

Further, as a positive date, both Series are later than A.D. 212, as the *pseudo-praenomen* Aur. is regular in both. Yet series B is not very late: 'there is a total absence of names marking the period towards A.D. 300.' The conclusion is there stated: 'a fair mean for the two groups would be (Series A) about A.D. 215-225 . . . (Series B) about 245-255. This explains the number of entries in (Q 2), (R I); it belongs to the pagan revival under Decius, and its probable date is A.D. 250-251.'

We now find that Series A is dated A.D. 238; and it remains uncertain whether B should be left in 250-251, or should be carried down a few years. In *Journal*, p. 158, the name Οὐαλελιανός is found in Q 2 (R I), l. 86. This might be derived from the Emperor Valerian; but that is a mere vague possibility,² as Valerianus was not an Emperor whose

¹ To it belong also Q 18 (St. 376), which is very much dilapidated and of small use, and perhaps Q 20 as enlarged in *Journal*, p. 160.

² A person named after Valerian at birth would imply a date 280-300, which seems too late. Valerianus was used without reference to the Emperor, as was Maximianus at Antioch (see Anderson, *l.c.*).

name was likely to be popular in the East; and the already suggested date 251 remains possible, and on the whole 250–270 may be regarded, for the present and provisionally, as obligatory.

XIII.—THE EPHESIAN ARTEMIS AT SAGHIR NEAR ANTIOCH.

A relief of great interest, but in shockingly bad preservation, is shown in a photograph by Mr. Anderson on Plate III. and Fig. 2. It is on the edge of a large thin slab of marble, buried perpendicularly in the ground



FIG. 2.—RELIEF *in situ*.

in a narrow lane at Saghir. We tried to take it out, but after some digging, found that it could not be extracted without demolishing the walls on both sides of the lane. This would have required the consent of all the owners, and much time would have been lost in negotiation. Mr. Anderson, therefore, balanced a pole across the walls, and, sitting on this, photographed the relief from above. (Fig. 2.)

The relief must have been about 6 inches in height, and the large slab must have been part of a building, of which it was probably the frieze. Doubtless this building was the temple of the goddess and of the god associated with her. In the courtyard of a house a few yards up the lane

were found the sculptured altar shown in Section XIV. (Plate IV.) and also a slender hexagonal pillar on which is engraved the inscription mentioning an Archigallos, also a fragment of a Tekmoreian list. The temple therefore probably stood close to the lane; and it would be well worth while to buy and pull down all the houses on the lane in search of fragments.

The central scene of the fragment shows the goddess after the Ephesian type, standing between two stags (whose small size suggests the gigantic scale on which her form has to be imagined). All the details of the Ephesian type are suggested, the shapeless body tapering downwards, the five double scenes of ornament on the robe (or framework), the supports for her hands, the *mammae* (as they are usually interpreted), the strange projections at each side of the head. The semblance of human feet can be seen protruding underneath the sort of garment which envelopes the lower part of the divine figure. The goddess stands between two columns: perhaps, if the upper part of the frieze were entire, it would be found that these rested on the two capitals, a rounded top completing the niche in which she abides. (See note on p. 79.)

Right of the niche is an altar, and a priest (or priestess) stands on the right side of the altar, pouring a libation, or laying an object, on the altar with the right hand. The figure is dressed in a voluminous garment and the only criterion of sex is the form of this garment. It has some appearance of being a sort of spreading petticoat, marked with slanting folds or bars; and this garment taken by itself would prove the figure to be a priestess. On the other hand there is no indication of dress on the body above the waist, and if the body be understood as nude, it would be that of a man. The art, however, is extremely rude; and, I think the intention may be to show a priestess with tight-fitting bodice and bulging petticoat, after an archaic fashion. The figure, so interpreted, recalls the priestesses at Frahtin and Eyuk: see Ramsay-Hogarth, *Pre-Hellenic Monum. of Cappadocia* in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, xiv. Pl. V. 1 and Fig. 5, also a very rude priestess on a sarcophagus at Bin-Bir-Kilisse (see Fig. 377 in the *Thousand and one Churches* by Miss Bell and the present writer).

On this interpretation the figure in this late relief, of the third (or possibly the second) century after Christ, takes us back to primitive Anatolian religious art, and shows an almost stationary unchanging ritual

and symbolism. Such is the impression that all these religious monuments of the Antiochian Region make on the spectator: the old Phrygian cult remained practically almost the same in its fundamental features for a thousand years or more; and instead of calling it Phrygian we may move a step further and employ the name 'Hittite.'¹ The Phrygians, a conquering tribe from Macedonia (or Illyria) adopted the religion of the conquered country, though doubtless they in some degree affected its character in their part of Asia Minor.

I should add that in my hurried notes written before the stone I indicate no doubt as to the sex, and apply to it the term priest.

On each side of the central scene is a conventional ornament, a large heavy garland supported by two Amores; who are probably winged. Above the middle of the garland is a head of Medusa. Ornament of this kind is common in late Roman work in Asia Minor, sometimes in even ruder form than here. Examples from Isauria are published by Miss Ramsay in the first paper in *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 10 and 11, but the figures were so rude that none of us recognised them as Amores at the time.

On the left the frieze breaks off here: on the right is a second scene: probably the frieze showed only two scenes, one the worship of the goddess, the other the worship of the god; and these two scenes were separated and bounded by garland-bearing figures.

To the right of the middle garland is an altar, beside which sits on the right a god, who pours a libation (or lays an object) with his right hand on the altar. This sitting deity wears an upper garment which rests on his knees, leaving the body and the legs from knee downwards bare.

Right of the god is a scene marked off by two shapeless upright boundaries. Between these boundaries is a sacred tree on the left, and an altar with a priest on the right pouring a libation from a patera (or laying a round object) on the altar.

Outside the bounds of this scene is a figure, broken in half longitudinally. Evidently this was an Amor, and the garland which he and his lost companion bore terminated the frieze on the right.

Here the frieze is broken; but the two scenes form a miniature picture of the cult.

¹ Probably the Hittites, in their turn, may have been conquerors; and the best term to use is 'Anatolian.'

The priest of the god bears a long sceptre or lance, or (as I prefer to think) the same long flaming torch which is carried by a priest on the altar shown in Plate IV. (Section XIV.). This Dadouchos will be described there.

That the deity to whom the Tekmoreian ritual was specially dedicated was Artemis is shown by several of the inscriptions. She was also regarded as Cybele, as is proved by the fact that her priest was Archigallos, and by the statuette, which I shall now describe.

As we were leaving Saghir a small marble statuette was brought to us, and we purchased it, intending to leave it in the 'Museum' which had been commenced in the cellar of the Government House at Yalowadj. We carried it with us for five or six days; but on the day that we reached Yalowadj, it was either lost or stolen. It was valueless in respect of artistic quality; and, in the way of evidence, the following description affords quite as much basis for inference as the actual figure. We saw several of the same type at Saghir, all more or less broken, and all quite rude. The type is common also on coins of Phrygia. I have seen examples at Ephesus and throughout Lydia and Phrygia, including the sanctuary at Antioch. Cybele sits on her chair. In her right hand she holds a patera, in her left a broken object (probably a tympanon). She wears a long tunic reaching to the feet and girt high above the waist; and a mantle is loosely wrapped round the lower part of her body and rests on her knees, hanging down nearly to the feet. On each side of the chair there is a lion, sitting on its haunches.

XIV.—A DEDICATION TO SELENE.

In the courtyard of a house at the top of the short narrow lane (in which the frieze described in Section XIII. is embedded) there is an altar or basis, very much dilapidated, which presents features of great interest.¹ (Plate IV.) It should probably be called a basis shaped like an altar, on which stood some dedicatory object. On the top is a small shallow circular depression, in the centre of which is a quite small deep hole. The dedicated object fitted into this hole by a small projection on its underside.

This square basis, about 4 ft. high, bears no inscription, but has reliefs

¹ In the same house, the inscription of the Archigallos Q 22 is built into the wall, and inside is the fragment of a Tekmoreian inscription.

on all four sides. The principal side is marked as such by the figure of the goddess resting on a double support. The other three reliefs rest each on a single support.

The goddess stands on a car, probably looking back, (though the head is lost), with her left arm above the front rail of the car, holding the reins, doubtless. The attitude of the horses implies a galloping motion, and the goddess's cloak like a chlamys flies behind her as if she were borne rapidly forward; but otherwise her attitude does not imply that she is moving, but is more like a person at rest. She is evidently to be understood as the charioteer in a rapidly moving car. The art, of course, is rude; but less rude than in other cases. The goddess seems to wear a girt tunic. The wheel of the car apparently has seven spokes.

There are perhaps three horse's heads, in which case we should have to understand a quadriga; but the photograph leaves this doubtful. The appearance that suggests a third head is perhaps illusory, due to the bad preservation of the surface; and I am disposed to think that there are only two heads, and that the sculptor intended to show a biga. If he had meant a quadriga, he would have been careful to show four by some detail. The legs do not suggest a quadriga.

The goddess, then, is Selene riding, as commonly, in a car drawn by two horses or mules. This recalls the words of Strabo, p. 557, regarding the worship of Men in Asia Minor. Speaking of the *hieron* of Men Pharnakou at Ameria in Pontus, he adds ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς Σελήνης τὸ ἱερόν, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ. Formerly I took this to mean that the god Men was the moon-god; but Mr. Anderson pointed out to me Strabo's true meaning, *viz.*, that along with Men the *hieron* was dedicated to a goddess Selene; and he quoted *C.I.L.* III. 6829, *diebus festis Lunae*,¹ as a proof that this goddess was worshipped also in Antioch along with Men. I am now inclined to agree with his interpretation, and to regard the altar which is here published as dedicated to the goddess Selene. In that case, however, we should have to regard her as an intrusion into the Cybele-Artemis worship in Phrygia, in which case there would result a distinct probability that Men also, is an intrusion from the East. The question which is put in Section VIII. is thus answered by this relief, which I had not comprehended while writing that Section.

¹ Previously I took Luna here as Men. The inscription was copied by Sterrett in 1885, and by me in 1886 and by Calder and me in 1911, 1912. Quodannis is certain.

Another difficulty would be solved at the same time. On this interpretation we should have to suppose that, together with Selene, Men also came into the Saghir pantheon; and, as Saghir was indubitably the seat of a rather important *hieron* and the religious centre of the Association in which the people of the Imperial Estates (originally the estates of the god called Men by Strabo, p. 557) were united, it would follow that the hieron of Saghir was Strabo's 'hieron (of Men) in the region of the Antiochians'; see Section I. The temple which stood close to the lane (already described) in Saghir was the ancient sanctuary of this district of Phrygia. Here we should look for old Phrygian traces of the pre-Hellenic period; but to do this it would be necessary to buy and demolish two dozen modern houses.

The arguments against this identification are two:—

(1) No archaic remains or pottery have been found at Saghir. The situation amid the crowded houses of a village furnishes the explanation. The surface is entirely covered with mediaeval and modern accumulation; and not much of the earth's surface can be seen on account of blocks of stone, walls and coarse pavement. Too much stress is sometimes laid on the need for proof of an archaic site by finding archaic remains inside a village or town: this proof need not be expected. For example, some American scholars who have explored in Asia Minor, have refused to believe that Konia is the site of the pre-Hellenic Iconium, because they found hardly a scrap of archaic pottery on the hill of Ala-ed-din. I have excavated in the hill, and found that a large part of it is an accumulation of soil over the foundations and basement of the Seljuk palace. When I first saw the hill in 1882 there were still considerable ruins of the palace, but almost all are now destroyed. In a surface like this, a great part of which is more recent than 1882, it is not reasonable to expect that pre-Hellenic pottery should be found. So at Saghir.

There is, however, in Saghir at least one inscription in the Phrygian language of Roman time, which Mr. Calder and I copied in 1911: it had escaped the careful search made by Professor Sterrett in 1885, by me in 1886, and by Professor Callander in 1905. Even one inscription (which is different in character from all others) proves that Phrygian was spoken here as late as the second or third century after Christ. If the ground were bought and excavations made,

then archaic remains would be found, or the identification would have to be abandoned.

(2) No dedications to the god Men have been found at Saghir. This is answered by what has been stated in Section I, as to the archaic and pre-Hellenic character of this Hieron compared with the 'progressive' character of the Hellenistic and Roman Hieron beside Antioch. The goddess remained here the principal figure, as in the old Anatolian religion.

The relief on the right side shows a figure perhaps of the Attis type. He stands facing, wearing a short tunic, with his left arm bent at the elbow and the fore-arm turned towards the body. The right arm is broken below the elbow. There may have been a dog or other animal (or perhaps a low altar) beside him under his right hand. He was represented stretching his right hand towards the animal (or pouring a libation on the altar). Some object protrudes downwards on his left side, and the same or another object upwards above his left shoulder.

On the back of the altar the figure represented is probably the Dadouchos priest, holding a very long flaming torch (which cannot possibly be explained as a thyrsos or a lance or a sceptre). The slanting projection at the top may best be explained as flames.

The dress of the Dadouchos cannot be determined with certainty: part of it hangs over his left arm: whether this is a chlamys, which leaves the body nude, is doubtful: perhaps it is the end of a more voluminous garment which draped the body; but my notes made before the stone speak of the Dadouchos as nearly nude, with a heavy garment hanging from his left arm.

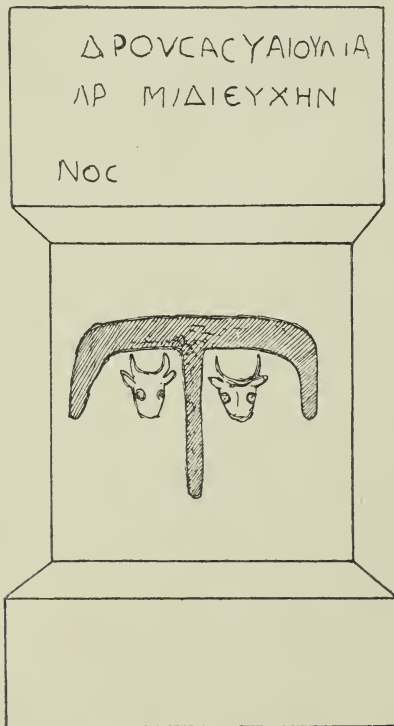
That 'the torch' was a very important part of the equipment of the initiation chamber (*antron*?) is proved by the inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 163 (the reading of which has been confirmed by Mr. Anderson and me in 1912). If there was a torch, there must have been a Dadouchos. Evidently the illumination which is mentioned as a striking feature in the Mysteries, was given in Phrygia by one huge torch, which was lit amid the darkness of the celebration. The Dadouchos occurs also in the relief described in Section XIII.

The left side shows two figures, presumably male, in short tunics, standing side by side, both looking straight forward. The figure on the right has the left hand on the breast grasping an object like an

axe or baton, which protrudes above the left shoulder. He is girt with a narrow girdle, like a rope. Over the left shoulder and upper-arm hangs part of a robe, perhaps a small cloak. The other figure, on the left, holds some object in his depressed right hand. I refrain from stating any conjecture as to this pair.

XV.—AN ALTAR OF THE MYSTIC RITUAL.

In the mosque at Kirkbash, a village two hours west from Saghir, not far from the direct road to Kundanli, there is a very rude monument having the form of an altar or of a basis to support a dedication, in the most helpless style of village workmanship. This altar, however, is extraordinarily interesting in respect of religious ritual, if my interpretation be correct. The principal side is inscribed with a dedication to Artemis in letters of the rudest form, which are perhaps to be read



ΔΡΟΥΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΛΙΑ
 ΛΡ ΜΙΔΙΕΥΧΗΝ
 ΝΟΣ

1. Δρουσὰς κα(ι) Ἰουλι-
2. Ἄρτέμιδι εὐχήν
3. νός

Δροῦσ[ο]ς is perhaps to be understood as the first name (either misspelt or badly engraved); but it seems much more probable that the feminine form Δρουσάς is intended. No example of this form occurs to me (as I write at Eski-Sheher without books), but it can be quite well supported by analogies from the nomenclature of Phrygia. That the woman's name should come first can also be defended by similar examples in this region; it would suit the old matriarchal style of pre-Phrygian Anatolia, of which traces may be observed here and there. This matriarchal custom is sometimes called Phrygian; but it should be considered old Anatolian. The Phryges, a conquering race, inevitably went against this custom. The dominant men took wives of the women of the subject people; probably they had not sufficient women of their own stock; but they would not adopt the matriarchal rule, nor would they maintain it even if they had known it in Europe. The matriarchate goes with peace, and tends to perish among a conquering caste and in a state of war.

The last letter of the name Drousas or Drousos is followed by Υ, probably a rude form of Κ. The final letter of καὶ is omitted by the engraver on account of the following Ι. The name Ἰουλιανός seemed to us certain, though the last three letters are out of place. Under this inscription, on the shaft of the altar, are two bull's heads beneath a sort of canopy (which is simply in relief without marking or ornament). This may be a helpless attempt to indicate some part of the temple or its equipment. I should conjecture that the intention is to indicate the front of a village temple, or the *antron* (natural or artificial) in which the Mysteries were celebrated (Sections II., XIV.): compare the interpretation suggested for the Isaurian monuments in Miss Ramsay's paper on Isaurian Art (*Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, No. 1) and in the concluding article of my *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 380.

On the left side of the altar is a very rude representation of a tree and serpent, a common religious device.

On the right side is a large ornament, nearly (but not quite) in the centre of the surface, coarsely and roughly cut (Fig. 3). It probably represents rudely a brooch or other object which formed part of the dress of a priest or priestess of the goddess. In the centre are eight bosses arranged in a circle round a central boss. Two of these have a cross on them, and probably the others had the same ornaments, but the

surface is too much worn to show the original marking. The cross is familiar in old Phrygian work (as on the Midas tomb); and the whole character of this ornament suggests that it is a rude copy of some archaic priestly object.

On the back of the altar are two vines, on the right and on the left, growing out of two vases. Between them is an object, which is apparently a pot of simple form, out of which grows a large ear of corn. As the other sides of the altar are adorned with hieratic representations, the same must be the case here; and this pot with the ear of corn must probably be interpreted as a reminiscence of a scene in the Mysteries described

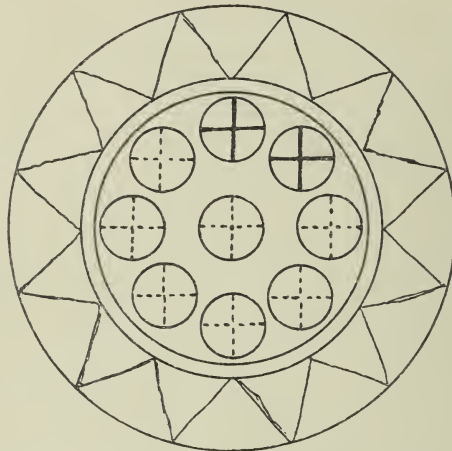


FIG. 3.—ORNAMENT ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE ALTAR.

in the *Philosophumena* (Miller, p. 117, Cruice, p. 171), 'the great and wonderful and most perfect mystery placed before those who were initiated in the higher order [at Eleusis] was a stalk of corn harvested in silence.' On the effect and intention of this scene I have said something elsewhere.¹

There is no authority for attributing this supreme mystic revelation to the Phrygian Mysteries; but the general similarity of the Mystic ritual on both sides of the Aegean seems to be a sufficient proof² that this act was performed in Phrygia as Eleusis; and we recognise the

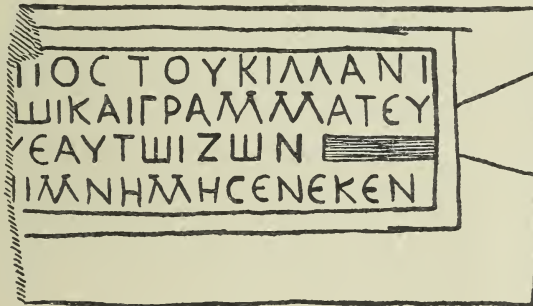
¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 164.

² See *Religion of Anatolia* in *Hastings' Dict. Bib.* V. 126; and above, p. 43.

preparations for the scene in the representation on this altar (where the ornament are doubtless all hieratic). From this rude altar we gather that the stalk of corn was brought into the hall of the Mysteries growing in a pot. The vine-plants on each side are merely ornamental, like the garland and Amores in the relief described above, Section VIII. Such ornamental pairs of vines are very commonly introduced on grave-stones of the Roman period in Phrygia: an example is shown in *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 84 in an article by Miss Ramsay.

XVI.—THE *Arca Sanctuarii*.

(R. and C. 1911.) Tcharyk Serai. Published by Professor Sterrett from his own copy, *E. J.* No. 176: his epigraphic copy is accurate, except that the corner of Υ at the beginning of l. 3 is taken by him for part of C.



This fragment is of the highest importance, if the following restoration be correct. The stone is of a common form, viz. a tablet. In my experience such tablets are frequently broken straight down the middle, so as to form two pieces almost exactly corresponding. This fragment is broken straight down; and a considerable, but not extremely long part of the inscription was engraved on the lost portion. Moreover, such tablets are never very long and narrow. Therefore the size of the lost part may be taken as fairly certain; and the following restoration assumes that the size of the lost piece is approximately the same as that which is preserved. Consideration of the possible restoration, also, points to the same opinion.

The preserved part of l. 1 almost certainly begins with a broken Π :

the distance between 1 and 1 suits: the readings ΝΙ, ΜΙ, are excluded. A personal name and a title ending in -πος (obviously ἐπίτροπος) are wanted here. At the beginning of l. 2 the restoration -ου πεδίου is certain. At the beginning of l. 4 καὶ with a personal name and συμβίωι¹ are needed. These conditions govern the restoration.

In l. 1 before [ἐπίτρο]πος a personal name is required. Probably there was only a single name without the father's name (although two very short names might find room in the space that remains open). The ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Κιλλανίου πεδίου must have been connected with the Imperial estates there: on which see Chapter IX. of my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I.: he was therefore, of course, a member of the Imperial household, and therefore *nullo patre*. A name like Eirenaios or Hymenaios would suit the conditions well; and I insert the former *exempli gratia*.

In l. 4 the restoration is fairly certain, except the length of the wife's name; but this is sufficient to show that some defining expression was added after πεδίου in l. 2. When I submitted the restoration of the other three lines to Mr. Calder, with the gap in l. 2, he suggested ἐπὶ τῷ σίτωι (the ending ωι being certain on the stone). This has some advantages (as we shall see) and the construction is justifiable, though this exact title is not known, for the genitive is usual.

Thereafter Eirenaios (?) was promoted to be γραμματεὺς υ and in this office he resided near Antioch, apparently on the Imperial estates south of the Colony. Now this part of the estates seems to have been charged with the income needed for maintaining the Sanctuary of Men; and the modern village name Gemen, south of Antioch, seems to be Γῆ Μηρός (as Mr. Calder first suggested). The old priesthood was suppressed, as Strabo says; but the ritual and buildings were maintained, and the fund for the maintenance was called the *arca sanctuarii*. There was a curator of this *arca*, who seems to have been a citizen of the *colonia*; but, as the money must ultimately have come from the estates, originally the property of the god and then of Augustus and his successors, there must also have been an Imperial manager of the revenue, whom I conjecture to be γραμματεὺ[ς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θησαυρο]ῦ. What the Latin form of the title may have been is uncertain.

¹ γυναικί is inadmissible: the preceding letter was not Κ, but might be Ω.

The full restoration would then be as follows :—

Εἰρηναῖος? ἐπίτρο]πος τοῦ Κιλλανί-
 ου πεδίου ἐπὶ τῷ σίτ]ωι καὶ γραμματεὺ-
 ς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θησαυρο]ῦ ἐαυτῶι ζῶν erasure
 καὶ Νείκηι? συμβίωι μνήμης ἔνεκα

As Eirenaios was promoted from the Killanian estates to manage the *arca*, his office on the former cannot have been that of the supreme procurator of the estates, who was certainly a person of considerable importance; but, if he was only [ἐπίτρο]πος [ἐπὶ τῷ σίτ]ωι, we may understand that the duty at Gemen was higher. Here he prepared the grave for himself and his wife, probably on the death of the latter. This inscription has been carried with several others to build the mosque at Tcharyk Serai, which seemed to us to be certainly not an ancient site, as the cemetery contained no ancient stones.¹

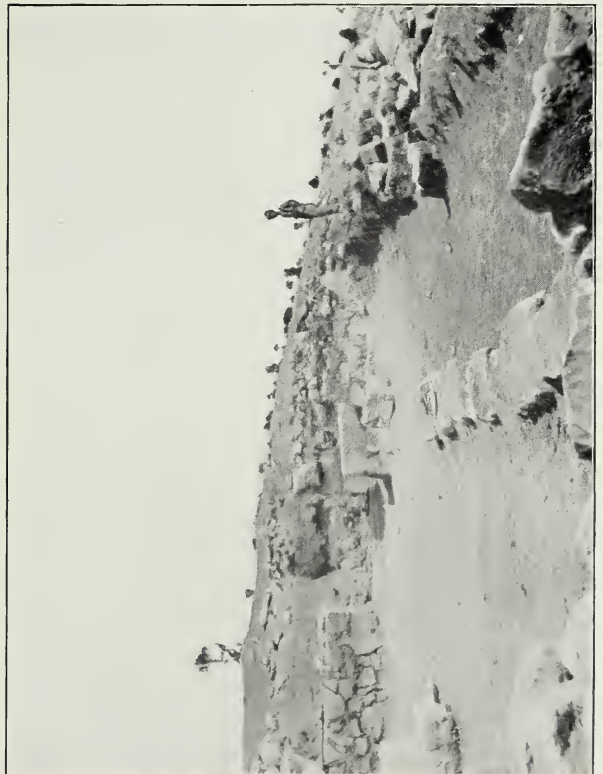
W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Professor Sterrett considered the village an ancient site; but he mentions no proof except the stones of the mosque, which furnish no evidence: mosques are usually built by a contractor who brings stones. The cemetery does not suggest a site.

NOTE TO P. 68, L. 12: The theory of the nature of Artemis Ephesia, stated in my article on *Anatolian Religion* (Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* V. pp. 116 f.), dominates the expression here and elsewhere.

W. M. R.

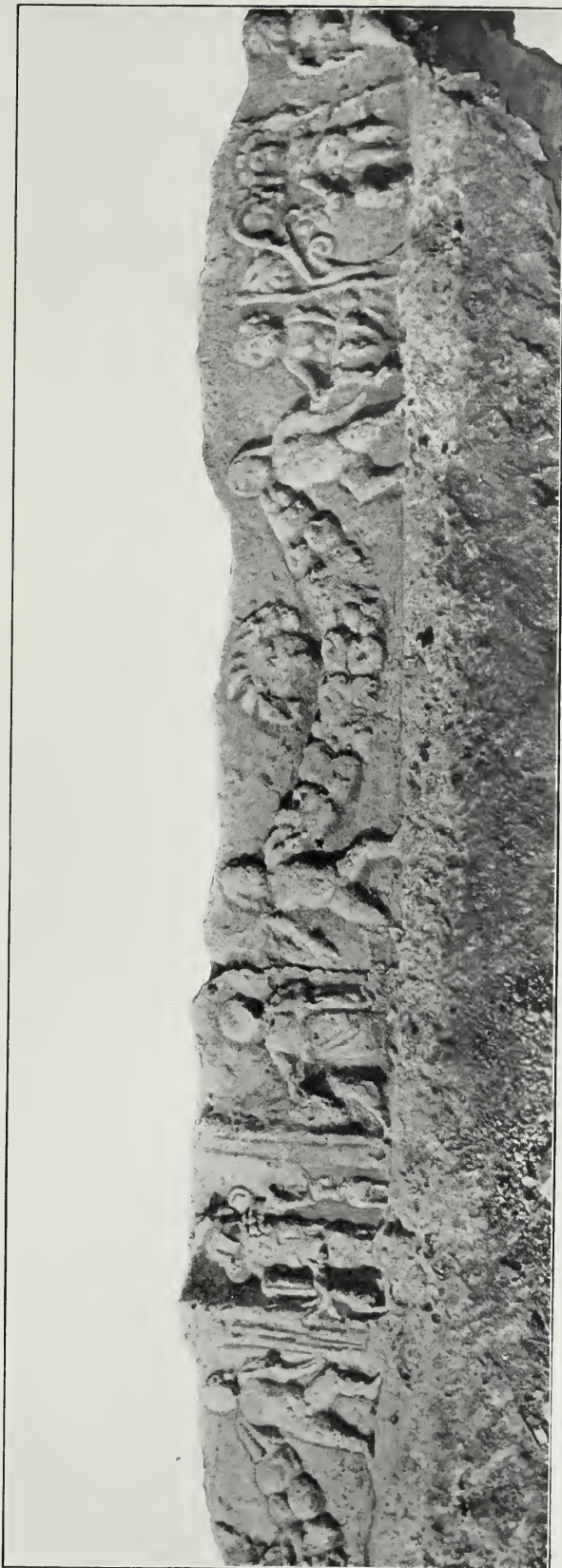
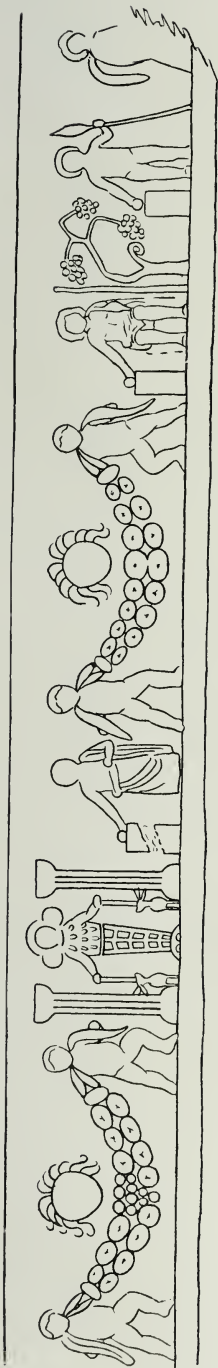
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3 FOUR VIEWS OF THE HALL OF INITIATION IN THE SANCTUARY OF MEN ASKAENOS AT ANTIOCH.



THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR : THE GODDESS OF ANTIOCH AS HEKATE.



THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR : THE EPHESIAN ARTEMIS ON A RELIEF AT SAGHIR NEAR ANTIOCH.



THE RELIGIOUS ANTIQUITIES OF ASIA MINOR: A SCULPTURED BASIS WITH A DEDICATION TO SELENE.

